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In June 1938, during the war of resistance against Japan, the China Defense League was founded in Hong Kong by Soong Ching-ling. It acted as a channel for international aid chiefly to bring medicine and relief to Communist bases. In 1941, its headquarters was moved to Chungking. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, this organization changed its name to the China Welfare Institute (August 1950).[15] Its center of activity has been in Shanghai. Beginning in January 1952, the China Welfare Institute has published an international, propaganda-disseminating, bi-monthly magazine, China Reconstructs, in the English language.

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The Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 at Peking in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of the Chinese organization is also Soong Ching-ling. The principles of this committee, which include the promotion of child welfare, were defined as "anti-imperialism" and "the promotion of world peace."[16]

A group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association in 1948. The Communist regime brought this organization under their control and moved it to Peking. In

15. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

16. People's Handbook, 1955, p. 396.

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The Press as a Propaganda Medium and Its Structure Characterized by a high degree of specialization, the structure of the press in Central-South China, which is an integral part of the press in Communist China as a whole, is such as to enable each of its parts to reach specific audiences and to serve a definite function in the socialist (and Communist) education of the masses.

Like the press apparatus of the nation, the press in Central-South China is divided horizontally and vertically. The horizontal division follows closely the hierarchical structure of the government and the Communist Party of China. At each level there is an appropriate press to serve the Party, government, and public organizations. Thus, prior to the abolition of the regional administrative system of the government, the Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily] served as the official newspaper of the Central-South China region.

In addition, there are a number of newspapers on the provincial level. At present each of the provinces in the region has its own official newspaper, as listed below.

Hupeh Jih-pao [Hupeh Daily] (Hankow, Hupei)
Hsin Hunan Pao [New Hunan Daily] (Changsha, Hunan)
Honan Jih-pao [Honan Daily] (Chengchow, Honan)
Kiangsi Jih-pao [Kiangsi Daily] (Nanchang, Kiangsi)
Nan-fang Jih-pao [South-China Daily] (Canton, Kwangtung)
Kwangsi Jih-pao [Kwangsi Daily] (Kweilin, Kwangsi)

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Below the provincial level are newspapers on the administrative district level. At the base of the pyramid are newspapers onthe hsien or city level.

The vertical division follows functional lines. Individual newspapers serve different classes of readers.

By the fall of 1950, the Central-South China region had 51 newspapers above the administrative district level.[4] The exact number of hsien newspapers has never been made known.

Printed newspapers are supplemented by many mimeographed newspapers and hand-written "wall newspapers" and "blackboard newspapers" in small localities, factories, schools, mass organizations, and agricultural producers' co-operatives. These special newspapers are also organs of the Party and the government, and they have regular editors, editorial boards, and correspondents. The local Party branches constantly keep a watchful eye on their operation and development, and from time to time issue new instructions and regulations to keep them in line.

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4. Teng Tzu-hui, "Chung-nan I-nien-lai Chih Hui-ku" (1950) [Retrospect on Central-South China During the Last Year"], Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, October 1, 1950.

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The importance of these special newspapers must not be overlooked. In vies of the fact that all the printed newspapers in the region by the fall of 1950, had an approximate combined circulation of only 50,000 issues daily, it must be obvious that the Communists have been forced to make maximum use of such special newspapers for propaganda and agitation. Like the oral agitator and propagandist, the wall newspaper and blackboard newspapers have the advantages of flexibility and adaptability for mass communication. These advantages are particularly conducive to agitation work. For instance, they can deal more effectively with the problem of production by seizing upon the most appropriate opportunities to criticize indifferent workers and praise energetic ones.

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While an overwhelming majority of the press in Central-South China is owned and operated by the Communists Party of China, the government, or mass oranizations in 1950 , there were eight newspapers in the region operated by private interests, the most notable being the Ta-kang Pao [Ta-kang News], published in Hankow. Private newspapers in this region, like other newspapers in Communist China, underwent a thorough re-organization in the years 1951-52. Upon this re-organization they lost their former identity and independent status and have become part of the propaganda apparatus of the Party and the government. The Ta-kang Pao, for example, has been renamed the Hsin Wuhan Pao [New Wuhan News] and serves as the official organ

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of the Wuhan Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China.[5]

Subscriptions to the newspapers in this region are handled through the local post offices. The Communists claim that this arrangement had brought about at least two good results: greater speed of delivery and a wider circulation.[6] Students and members of the armed forces are reportedly entitled to reduced rates.

Propaganda Work of the Press As an instrument of propaganda, the press devotes a large amount of space to the publication of "lectures," documents, and other pronouncements elucidating Communist theories, the Communist Party line, and the policies of the government, with a view to remolding the ideology of the masses and influencing public attitudes on political issues. Generally, the press is given very little freedom of action. Important material is distributed to the local press by the Hsin-hua [New China] News Agency. According to a regulation promulgated by the now defunct Information Administration of the Government Administration Council,[7] "all large newspapers"

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6. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, March 13, 1951.

7. "Hsin-wen Tsung-shu Kuan-yü Pao-chih T'sai-yung Hsin-hua-she Tien-kao Ti Kuei-ting" ["The Information Administration's Regulations Concerning the Use of News Releases of the Hsin-hua News Agency by the Press"], People's Daily, January 12, 1950.

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in the country must print in full the important news releases and special articles distributed by the New China News Agency. The newspapers in the region, to further Communist ideology and government policies, write and publish articles supplementary to those distributed by national propaganda organs. Supplementary articles are usually written in a more popular style and expound general themes by linking them with local issues or concrete problems, whenever such an approach is permissible and feasible. In point of fact, newspapers in Central-South China have been praised by the Communists for having done an excellent job in this regard. By way of illustration, the Yangtze Daily pointed out on July 13, 1952, that many newspapers in the Central-South China region printed the full text of the 10-plank agricultural-production policy for 1952 and accompanied it with a series of illustrations. It in turn praised other newspapers of the region, such as the Hunan Ta-chung Pao [Hunan Popular Daily], the Yüan-chou Pao [Yüan-chou Daily], and the Tzu-chiang Nung-min Pao [Tzu-chiang Farmers' Daily], for having devoted special columns to a detailed exposition of the agricultural-production policy.

Agitation Work of the Press The press in Central-South China makes a constant effort to eulogize the "People's Dictatorship," Marxism, Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and the history and contributions of the Communist Party of China. It even prints ordinary news items in

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such a way as to inculcate in the people a feeling of national pride and to help them develop an unwavering faith in the socialist construction and socialist transformation of China under the leadership of the Communist Party. In treating news involving non-Communist countries, the newspapers find frequent opportunities to assert that the people of the capitalist countries are being exploited mercilessly, that the capitalist system is on its way to destruction, and that present world tensions are caused by capitalist warmongers, especially those in the United States. After the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the anti-America campaign was played up by the press, so that the Chinese people might be called upon to make greater contributions and sacrifices for the attainment of the ambitious goals set by the regime.

The most successful agitation work done by the newspapers resulted in the acceleration of production. This was achieved by summarizing and disseminating information about the most successful economic enterprises and the methods and techniques of "advanced" workers; by explaining to workers and farmers the purposes of the economic measures taken by the Party and government; by bringing to the attention of the population the economic development of the nation; by publicizing the contributions of outstanding individual workers and farmers; by discussing ways and means for the solution of the difficulties facing the country in its economic construction; and by exhorting the people to make even greater efforts.

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The Press as a Medium of Public Information

Although the press is primarily used to conduct propaganda and agitation, it also contains a large amount of more-or-less straightforward information on public affairs. As mentioned in another connection, newspapers in this region, as in Communist China as a whole, usually print the text of important Party or government decisions and the text of the report of some responsible official on the activities of his agency. They also feature some important announcement concerning the commencement of campaigns, the completion of water conservation projects and the beginning of the autumn harvest on the farms.

The newspapers also seek to influence the formation of political attitudes; and for this reason they often accompany such informational material with a front-page leader and other articles to explain and justify the decisions or activities of the Party or government. But if the reader is both judicious and clever in distinguishing the factual presentation of news and efforts toward political propaganda, he will still be able to learn from the Communist newspapers what the latest actions and decisions of the authorities are, especially in the field of internal affairs. Chinese Communist newspapers contain more information on governmental activities than did the former official Kuomintang press. Unlike the former Kuomintang regime, the Communist authorities are apparently not satisfied with the practice of publishing government or Party decisions

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or decrees in official gazettes. It is their intention that such materials shall come to the direct attention of the people, and the most certain way of insuring that the people will see these materials is to order their publication in all newspapers.

By making the texts of official policies or decisions available to the average citizen, the Communist regime hopes to win his support in their execution. What is denied to the Chinese people on the Mainland today is the right to receive public information from sources other than Communist controlled media. Because they obtain news on governmental activities only from official sources, the Chinese people have no way of listening to diversified interpretations of the news, as do people in the United States. By providing the public with the "official version," the Communist press helps the regime to mobilize public opinion and the change people's attitudes, but it refuses to help the people conduct a public debate on national affairs in a manner we would call democratic. Therefore, the charges that the Communist press treats as news social processes rather than events, and that it does not print news until the "official version" has been decided, are matters of secondary importance in an evaluation of the role of the Communist press in the formation of public opinion.

The Press as an Instrument of Public Control

The press in Central-South China performs another function in addition to being a medium of propaganda,

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agitation, and public information. This function is the responsibility of serving as an instrument of mass or public control, and its importance can be best appreciated if one recalls the complexity of the tasks of a regime seeking to regulate every minute detail of national life. The manifold activities of the regime naturally have rendered inadequate the formal instruments of control such as the law enforcement officers, court machinery, the procuratorates, and other supervisory agencies. To supplement these formal agencies of supervision, the regime found at its inception that it was necessary to establish informal procedures of control over the execution of the tremendous numbers of complex regulations and orders.

The press serves as an instrument of informal control by acting as a medium for official and popular criticism of the course of the development of Chinese society and its component parts. In Communist China, "public criticism" in the press is a formalized phenomenon, actively encouraged and yet carefully guided by the regime. It has little if anything to do with the spontaneous development of public opinion. Like public criticism in the Soviet press, this function of the press in Communist China is an extension of the practice of self-criticism which prevails within the organizations of the Communist Party.

On April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China promulgated a document called "Decisions Concerning the Conduct

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of Criticism and Self-Criticism in Newspapers and Periodicals."[8] The Central Committee of the ruling party called upon the press to "induce" the masses to undertake "open criticism" of all shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party and government. Since that time, the newspapers in Central-South China have tried to perform this function well. They do so by devoting a large proportion of their total space to critical decisions issued by the Party and the government and to editorials and articles exposing deliquencies on the part of functionaries and institutions, in order to uncover manifestations of bureaucracy, opportunism, and deviation from the Party line. They also carry out this task by publishing "letters to the editor." Written by either the average citizen or a non-professional correspondent (the Chinese counterpart of the rabsel 'kor of the Soviet Press), such letters express certain grievances and complaints or address certain appeals to Communist authorities on a higher level. More than most other resources available to the people in the region, such letters frequently prove effective in the expression of popular feeling and in securing ameliorative action from the authorities. In short, the "letters to the editor" columns in the newspapers not only serve as a center to which the grievances of the citizenry against the bureaucratic apparatus are directed, but also provide the Communist Party with an opportunity to check on the activities of local government and public organizations.

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8. For its text, see ibid., April 22, 1950.

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The political impact of self-criticism conducted through the newspapers cannot be evaluated entirely on the basis of the preceding description. "Self-criticism" operates within carefully defined limits which considerably restrict its potential influence as a democratic force. The press is not allowed to criticize indiscriminately. In its decision on April 22, 1950, the Central-Committee of the Communist Party cautioned that it was necessary for the press to distinguish "between true and constructive criticism on the one hand and destructive criticism on the other." By "destructive criticism" the Communists meant any criticism which is aimed at repudiating the "people's democratic dictatorship," opposing the "Common Program," destroying social discipline, shaking people's faith in leadership, and "causing pessimism and disunity among the masses." This means that no criticism can be directed against any basic policy established by the Communist regime. Nor is it permissible for the press to make any open criticism of the top leaders or of the regime itself. What the press can do is to criticize officials on a lower echelon of corruption, disloyalty, or delinquency in the exectuion of policies of the regime. Viewed in this context, it is clear that the press as an instrument of public control is not only relatively harmless to the existing regime but is actually designed and operated to support it.

Radio as a Propaganda and Public Information Medium Radio, as another medium of propaganda and public information used by the Communists in

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APPENDIX

SUBJECT CONTENT OF THE CH'ANG-CHIANG JIH-PAO [YANGTZE DAILY]

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Subject	Average Daily Percentage of Space (Square Inch)
News items, articles, and editorials concerning the Three-Anti Campaign in Central-South China as a whole	28.4*
News items and articles concerning the Three-Anti Campaign in other regions	3.2
Texts of decrees and directives of the Central People's Government	0.4
"Activities of the Communist Party"	3.84
"Cultural lectures"	5.23
International News	12.59
News concerning the current festivals	1.41
News items and articles introducing "model experiences" in land reform	2.40

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News items and articles introducing "model experiences" in production	4.56
News concerning Public Health Campaigns	0.15
Letters to the editor	6.04
Advertising	9.5
Newspaper title, news Summary, and margins	24.28

* A large portion of space was devoted to the "Three-Anti Campaign" because that campaign was the principal task of the Communist regime during the period surveyed. The press in Communist China is required to give extensive news coverage to current campaigns and drives.

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workers were illiterate (that is, could read less than 1,000 Chinese characters). "To do away with illiteracy" has been a slogan used by the Communists as an aim of the new regime. Illiteracy had been a great obstacle to the improvement of Chinese workers on certain technical levels and thus had hindered the increase of labor productivity. At the beginning of the new regime, the Communists encouraged workers to take advantage of the night classes run by different enterprises, and the workers were said to have been very enthusiastic about their studies. For instance, according to the statistics for 33 factories in 1949 in Chengchow, Honan Province, 84 per cent of the total workers were illiterate or were on the lower grade school level. In the first quarter of 1950, there were 34 night schools opened for the workers in Chengchow.[38] Li Hsiu-ying, a 37-year-old woman worker of the Wuhan No. 1 Cotton Mill, had worked for twenty-nine years without a chance to study, but supposedly learned over 2,400 characters within a few months.[39] "The quick method of learning Chinese characters" began in 1952, and it has been of great assistance in accelerating the elimination of illiteracy among the workers.

In the region as a whole only sixteen newspapers and periodicals were published for workers in 1950. The Short Course School for workers[40] was started [204]

38. Chinese Worker Monthly, May 15, 1950, p. 48.
39. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 12.
40. Yangtze Daily, August 29, 1950, p. 4.